1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

845

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

[p. 1002]

231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[68]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[68] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

M /22 cont'd/
582

This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

M
584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

M
584 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it
787 is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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HM
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1. Voyage ă travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

M /23 cont'd/
HM
584

(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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M
[805]

The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 584 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

3: Schröder--21 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." 787 It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying [782] is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is presented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[18 cont.]

Details

791 787 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not [756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 756 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.]' Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]
1791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

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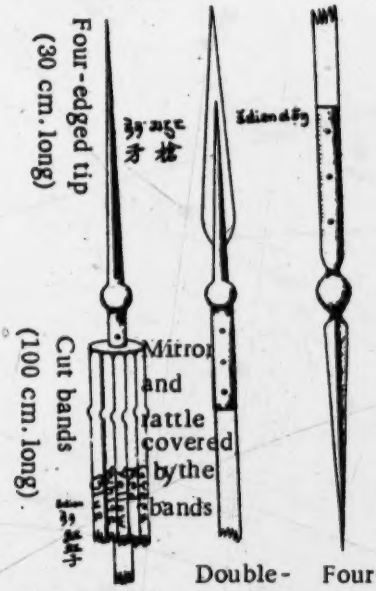
787 10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

[532]



Ornamental spear of the soothsayer from Erh-ku-lung-szu

Double-edged tip

Four-edged foot

(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[19 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

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[19 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

[791]

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[53]

[787]

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purġandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this čh'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: šdien kañ (Tib.) - holy house.

[23]

192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

192
787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzē (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuedē = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolgue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: guran bulõndē tolgue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndē tolgue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: guran salā tolgue = three prongs tip.

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The spear is shaking: šdien (purgan, šdiendõn) bõdzia (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzēn bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purgan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purgān) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth-saying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõ̀) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõ̀ladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of džuo- and dõ̀- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*[778] The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned [792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Sometimes they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. -- On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[28 cont.]
rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]
752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
• 787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
[576] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in the village propose to a young man that he should try it once. If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]

to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold. The following is the most common. First of all the shaman puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bõ, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bõdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ǯguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

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Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, [illegible] only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sēnoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.
[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãñsdzia. Some say yãñ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãñbõ. The ... bõ could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãñ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãñbõ. The Tujen have a third expression for

[56 cont.]

782 *778 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumigating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the following gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 527 [792] The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

791 *778 [782] [792] [592] Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
when the ceremony is to begin.

The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more [791] whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The [787] soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãń (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sẽrãń, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]
852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

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Word List

To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

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Details

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1817 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sañrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it
[778] to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]
852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

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[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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[776] The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

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7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.
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8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

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[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

241 789 778 [825 cont.] It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and dogs. The hide is not used for magic.

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] [782] [791] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master, amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit-conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.

[791]

241 789 778 825 [787] Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the [252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

3: Schröder--232 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer
782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a
787 sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con-
[791] cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 782 787 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni ʒənliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]

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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzēn sawa bi pēngē, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 782 [825] [621] Such families, however, must make their contribution. The main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the [202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 782 783 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 782 787 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 782 231 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 782 231 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 782 252 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 782 791 787 [776] Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indicates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit, and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rguloñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rguloñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

3: Schr"der--243 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[836 cont.]

241 782 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [629] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages [346] join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [787] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

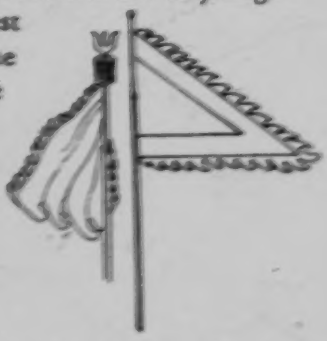
Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the [801] books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, although because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

1 [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] [791] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 [82] Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tõrõdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rẽbúoǧẽ (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luãn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luãn rẽgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

3: Schröder--250 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[840 cont.]

Details

778 787 [783] Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 562 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be: an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulon each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

1 [Li - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791 787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791 792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]

789 792 [791] spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 791 757 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form, there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows [787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this [535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789
[787]
791
[533]

[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789 Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
787 trance.
756]

Word List

192 Figure-conjuration: rdzṏnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)
755

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzṏnwa or dzṏnre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siraṅdzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778 Figures (little men): rdzṏnrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara iġa.
Black vessel: xara pëndzë.
Knife: tsidëġuo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasġa.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

155 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it.
[783] Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-
[787] mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[353 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
372 into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
[787] who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[854 cont.]

755 789 [756] [787] Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõñwa (rëdzõñwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagũ; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[797] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
[792] the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[794] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
[777] seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
[784] and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[351] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[789] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purgan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beŋkaŋ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purgan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudag ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
824 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [752] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] ǵlu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god um show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sicknesses.

Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism. -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and 956 recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 792 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

956 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of 787 his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of certain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[787] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bō, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[243 cont.]
all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the protective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism described here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih 756 in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the [789] Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

> 10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, 776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
752 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
752 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous
[787] popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[247 cont.]
174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (character-
756 ized by the tree of life, etc.).
779 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bŏ (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the
[787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[252 cont.]

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776]

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787]

The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

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This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

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The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e-bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[25] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[26] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confidentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[25] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[26] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and [illegible] ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the

existing in China from the dawn of history, who are considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption. 756

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fo-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains. 756 787

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then 756

[p. 90(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigüe; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 787
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success; he will start a new career.

[p.92(A)]

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However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and 756
does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are 787
wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Niebturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, [115] lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana

[p. 92 (8)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him.

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution.

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display.

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-